/1 cont'd/

101 175 were suppressed, the fort of Lo-an was subsequently built. Miao troops of Kwangsi were then sent there as a garrison. They were called yao-kung-shou /"shooters of poison arrows"/. After the military camp fell into disuse, their descendants scattered into the mountains and valleys, but they still bore the name of Miao. Even up to the present, they are still skillful in using poison arrows. The styles of their clothes, shoes, and queues are similar to that of ordinary people /i.e. the Chinese/. The dress of their women, however, are like that of the Li. All of them are able to climb trees like monkeys. They are not subject to taxes or levies of service. They never till the land in the plains but clear in the mountains to make plots where they plant mountain rice. (The Li people also do this.) They move once a year. When the land in the mountains recovers from depletion, they move back again. The bodies of their dead are usually burned or are simply hung on treetops to decompose through exposure. They are experts in making poison arrows. Whatever they shoot dies without shedding a drop of blood. /2/ They also practice sorcery and are able to control human beings and animals by means of amulets. Hence they are greatly feared and respected by both the civilized and uncivilized Li tribes."

In other localities many different names were used such as Lang-mu /"wolf eyes"/, Ta-shou /"attackers"/, and Lang-t'u ping /"soldiers from the land of wolves"/, etc. These probably also indicated the Miao. Wang Tso in his book, P'ing Li Chi /Record of the Suppression of the Li Uprisings/ said:

"...on that day the troops under his command were dispersed to advance to capture a road. He believed that the northern entrance of the head fortress in Hai-t'ien and Hsin-ch'ang was the central stronghold of the bandits. The central army was commanded by Ts'an-chiang* Ma Ch'eng, who ordered 10,000 Han-ta troops and

104 */Former title of a lieutenant colonel.--Ed./

Lang-t'u ping of Liang Kuang /i.e., Kwangtung and Kwangsi/ to attack the central stronghold." (See Vol. 9, "I-wen" /Literary Section/

/68 cont'd/

4. Magic

754 The Miao have a kind of "black magic," which is intended to injure other people. If a man has a bad enemy, he requests a Taoist priest to avenge him through sorcery. The method is to write the enemy's name on a piece of paper, which is nailed up in a grove of trees. The enemy's soul is thus confined, and he will fall ill with a strange disease and slowly sink into a half-alive state. The only way the victim can be saved is to get hold of the sorceror and compel him to release the soul from imprisonment.

755 This was what I heard from the Miao. Whether this magic was really workable I still do not know. However, I once encountered a disabled man in the home of a Li headman. I was told that this disablement was due to the fact that when this man was a follower of a Li headman who had attacked the Miao, he had killed a great many people. For revenge, the Miao had confined his soul. Might this story be true!

5. Superstition

823 The Miao believe in feng-shui /Chinese system of geomancy/. When I was in Ang-chi village, Lu Tsun-ying, the chia-ch'ang, told me that the reason the Miao people there were so poor was because the feng-shui was not good there. He also pointed out how the feng-shui was poor. The mountain peaks were too sharp, there was a lack of springs, and the aspect was too narrow, so that there was nothing from which wealth could issue. His cousin, a pao-ch'ang, 756 also asked me whether I knew how to practice feng-shui. I gave him a negative answer. He said that he would save more money to enable him to engage a good master of feng-shui, who would find for him a place of prosperity.

787 They also believe in fortunetelling through horoscopes and the practice of physiognomy. While I was there a number of them asked me whether I knew how to read horoscopes and practice physiognomy. /69/ There are some aspects of their social life that have led the Miao to believe in such superstitions. We will discuss it in detail in the next chapter.

/132 cont'd/

755 In the evening we went to watch the Hsiao people in Yen-sheng village perform Tso p'ing an, a ritual asking help of a god because of sickness. The name of the god was Fu Lao Ye. His image was [532] carved on wood and seated in a tiny wooden sedan. During the sacred service, two Taoist priests, who were accompanying the wooden god, performed different duties: one recited incantations, and the other performed a series of acts, representing the god's directions to the sick person. As I watched, I suspected that this kind of practice was undoubtedly introduced by the Chinese; a highly symbolic god could not possible have originated in such a primitive culture as the Hsiao's.

●754 During a conversation late at night, Mr. Wang Chao-i described in detail the two ways of carrying out black magic that the Li people use, the chin mu and ta fu t'ou, which were really frightening and hair-raising even for us to listen to.

Second month, twenty-fourth day. (Wednesday)

621 At ten o'clock in the morning, accompanied by Chiang Ying-liang and Ho Yüan-chiung, we started fro Chih-pao village. We arrived at the place in about an hour. Most of the villagers were out fishing, and only three old men were left to watch the village gate. Headman Teng Te-ch'un, who seemed to be about 60 years old, was refined in appearance. We were told that there were about 30 families with about 300 members, averaging ten members in each family, and that he had two sons and eight grandsons. He probably 163 exaggerated somewhat, but it is undoubtedly true that the birth rate 171 among the Miao is higher than among the Li, and because of their more sanitary habits the death rate is also lower. We found in his 165 home numerous written records; most were such things as pictures of gods, almanacs, and the Taoist canons. Since we had no time 622 to copy them, we only borrowed one copy and brought it back with 217 us. Headman Teng killed chickens to treat us, and we could not resist his hospitality and stayed for the meal. The meal was cleaner and more eatable than one prepared by the Li would have been.

/194 cont./

771 Thus, on the basis of what Frazer and Malinowski have said,
789 we can clearly distinguish between Miao magic and religion.
[931] For example, in the event of a drought, formerly the Miao
[782] would ask their sorcerer-priest to catch the dragon in order to
[821] seek rain, but now they offer sacrifices to the thunder kuei in order to seek rain. The former is magic, and the latter is religion, because catching the dragon to seek rain is the work of a magician to get power, by ritual and incantation, to directly control nature: whether the end is reached or not, whether it will rain or not, is the responsibility of the magician. Offering sacrifices to the thunder kuei to seek rain requires
[776] only the completion of the necessary prayer and ritual: whether there will be rain or not lies within the power of the spirits and beyond the reach of man. After having studied the various kinds of rituals for sacrifices to the kuei in the foregoing sections, we can see that the magic of the Miao in Hunan has largely progressed to the realm of religious acts, magic itself having lost its practical value, but religion still carries with it some imprints of magic. Therefore, the religion of the Miao in Hunan may be called magical religion. But aside from magical religion, there is still preserved a small amount of pure magic. As stated above, magic is a practical technique, and so the magic now still preserved among the Miao in Hunan has its practical value. The magic of controlling nature, such
[773] as rain and wind, animals and vegetables, no longer exists today, except in their folk tales, where traces of it may still be found. The magic now preserved by the Miao may be divided
[755] into two kinds: 1) hua shui /drawing water/, which is a form
[754] of white magic used to cure sickness; 2) fang ku /letting go insects/, which is a form of black magic used to make people sick.

/198 cont./

2. Letting-Out-the-Ku Magic

754 /199/ Ku poisoning is very ancient. Ch'un-ch'iu Tso-chuan /Commentary on the Spring and Autumn Annals/, first year of Chao: "To put insects in a vessel to get a ku, in order to cause illness." It can be seen that more than 2,000 years ago the business of ku poisoning already was in existence. Cheng Ch'iao of the Sung dynasty in the section "Liu Shu Liao" of his T'ung-chih records the method of making ku, saying: "A hundred insects are put in a vessel and allowed to devour each other. The one left is the ku." It has always been against the law to practice this. The old Criminal Code had an article relating to "the manufacture of ku poison." But it is still secretly practiced today among the Miao. Volume 7 of Kan-chou t'ing-chih states: "Miao women can kill people by ku witchcraft. It is called "letting out the grass kuei." They let them out when they are at odds with someone. If they are let go on the outside of the body, they eat up the five constituents of the human frame /muscles, veins, flesh, bones, skin and hair/. When they are let out inside the body, they consume the five inward parts, or organs. The victim suffers either agonizing pain, or becomes listless, or his skin will swell, or he will feel suffocated, all means of bringing him to death. A month before his death the victim sees the soul of the person who set the ku on him coming from behind to give him something, which is called "the hastening medicine." If the sick person cannot be cured within a month he dies. It is said that either a man or a woman can learn this. It is necessary to set up an altar secretly, and to raise a few tiny shrimps in a small earthen jar filled with water. It should be buried in the earth beneath a bed in a dark room, or under a rock in an isolated path in a remote mountain. If this earthen jar is found by someone and burned, then the practitioner of this ku witchcraft will also die. When sending forth the ku one may use one, two, three, or four fingers. The poison from one or two fingers is relatively easy to overcome;

[671] [683] [776] [824] [753] [787]

/199 cont./

754 that from three is difficult, and that from four fingers is not
[562] easy to overcome. The Miao men dread ku and do not learn
its use, but the Miao women secretly practice it. Before the
[683] Chia Ch'ing reign period /1796/ when the Miao found a woman
practicing ku witchcraft, they killed her. After the Chia Ch'ing,
[434] the Miao did not dare to kill these women, and therefore sold
[177] them to the Chinese. The Chinese gradually acquired the
method, and those who had it capitalized on it to make a
profit." Volume 6 of Yung-sui t'ing-chih states: "A genuine
ku woman has eyes red like cinnabar, and red, green, blue,
and yellow stripes on her stomach, arms, and back, without
which she is a fake. A genuine ku woman has not a trace of
cobwebs in her home. Every day she must place a basin of
water in the main hall, into which she spits out the ku she has
collected to drink the water. If she does not do this, she is a
fake. A genuine ku woman usually is found in the mountains,
where she sends a bamboo pole high up in the clouds which acts
like a fighting dragon, or sends a cape up in the sky which
dances like a bird. If she can't do this, she is a fake. If a
woman can do the above strange things, the worms which will
be found in her stomach, opened after she is killed, will be
real ku. A person victimized by a genuine ku woman dies with-
in a hundred days. If his sickness lasts a year, then it is not
from receiving ku." The annals and books of successive dynas-
ties contain many references to ku poison, but unfortunately
they are not clear. The present writers were most anxious to
make a thorough investigation of ku when in the Miao area.
[123] But as ku is forbidden by the government, the Miao women
able to do ku hid their secrets well, and our investigation had
no results. The following notes are some material obtained
through interrogation.

Ku is called [ɲ̊ʻiɣ] in the Miao language, and a ku woman
is called [mpʻɑɪ ɲ̊ʻiɣ]. Most of the ku women are loved by
their husbands, /200/ which is called /tʻioʌ ɲ̊ʻiɣ/, meaning
seduced by ku." The art of ku is handed down from woman to
[428] woman. For instance, if a ku woman has three daughters, one

/200 cont./

754 of them must learn this art. But the secret is not necessarily
[428] handed down to one's own daughter — other girls may also be taught. If a girl is learning sewing or singing from a ku woman, and the latter thinks that she can be taught the art of ku, she inadvertently says to the girl, "You have got it!" This girl will then get sick. In order to get well, she has to learn the art from the woman. The details of the ritual and incantations used in imparting this knowledge could not be found out. The
[778] ku woman maintains a ku altar, hidden in the house or in a
173 mountain cave. It is said that once a certain ku woman main-
754 tained an altar at home. One day after breakfast when all the villagers had gone up the mountain to work, the woman shut her door and heated warm water to bathe the images. Inadvertently, a little boy saw her. The next day when the ku woman went up the mountain to work, the boy imitated her, heating water to wash the images, scalding the ku images to death. One of them bore the soul of the woman. While working on the mountain, the woman suddenly became con--scious of what was happening. She went home to change her clothes, then died. The eyes of a ku woman are red. If she
754 does not send out the ku, she gets sick herself, and her face turns yellow. When the ku victimizes a person, the woman is protected from sickness for three years; when it victimizes an ox she is protected for one year; when it victimizes a tree, she
[825] is protected for three months. A pig may be victimized, but
[262] not a dog, and so the ku woman is afraid of dogs and does not eat dog meat. The symptoms of a victim of ku are yellow
[753] complexion, desire for food but inability to eat it, and a swollen stomach. Immediate medical attention can help re-
683 covery. In 1928 there was a case of ku poisoning at Feng-
754 huang, involving a Miao whose two sons died in succession. He suspected that a ku woman in the same village was the cause. The authorities were petitioned to search her house, where there was found hidden an earthen jar containing snakes, tortoises, toads, and so on, as well as cut-out paper images of human forms. The evidence was conclusive, and the ku woman was shot.

/200 cont./

754 On the basis of the above data we can say in general that the art of ku is a form of black magic. Today, there are still a number of primitive societies where people take a pointed bone, stick, or arrowhead, or the wing bone of a certain kind of animal to pierce, thrust at, or point at the victim they wish to harm, in an imitative ritual, and then they reckon they will die. (1) This is very much like letting out ku by thrusting

1. See Malinowski: Magic, Science and Religion, Li An-che's Chinese translation, page 77.

one or two fingers to cause a person to get sick and die. Perhaps, the art of ku is also a kind of love magic. It is said among the Miao that ku women are good at making their husbands happy. The Kwei-shun Chi-li Chou-chi of Kwangsi states: "When a woman cannot win her husband's love, she asks for a magical formula from the magician in order to gain love. In time she practices ku. During the time of the full moon she sends it out to poison someone else, otherwise it would hurt her. /201/ Along Cheng-pien area this practice is most prevalent." That ku witchcraft is a form of black magic or love magic is only our speculation, because we do not know the incantations and rituals nor the gestures and acts of the performer while carrying out the rituals. Therefore it is not easy to know what it actually is.

[832] [833]

of the day, the ceremony is over, and work is taken up with new zeal, there being abroad a general feeling of security. 796 782

As with all people of an early culture, rites half religious, half magical, play no small part in the daily life of the Miao. To these people, demons are as real as smells to dogs. Wizards can control and direct unseen powers, and the successful ones exert an enormous influence on their fellow tribespeople. The wizards who practice white magic are in great demand, since they are able to heal such diseases as typhoid, anæmia, malaria, and what may be styled the less troublesome illnesses. Scorning to use their occult power to injure people, these wizards are looked up to and even beloved. By their knowledge of plants and herbs they cure sickness, and when there is pain give considerable relief. In fact, they offer a primitive medical service to the tribe. 776 755

There is, however, another class of magician, less skilful, whose influence is distinctly anti-social. They "overlook" both people and cattle, causing extremely painful deaths. In addition, they are believed to release secret arrows, which, entering into any part of the human body, induce intense suffering and sickness, from which not infrequently the victim never recovers. A pig is ill or dies: at once it is thought that the animal has been spitefully "overlooked". A person suddenly falls sick: immediately it is put down to the ill-wish of some wizard practising black magic. Through some painful illness which does not answer to the 754

754 aboriginal *materia medica*, an individual becomes incapacitated. The sickness weighs upon his mind, until after a time he becomes convinced that some one "overlooking" him has released invisible arrows which have entered into his system and caused the illness.

Once twenty rough, wild-looking Miao came to a missionary's home, begging him to help them adjudge a man accused of having the "evil eye". The offender, who was closely guarded, had a rather pleasant face, and certainly there did not appear to be anything abnormal about him. The missionary felt sorry, and could not understand why his accusers should be so bitter. He vehemently protested his innocence, and after the most minute enquiries, the missionary was unable to discover any one who could produce the slightest evidence of the man having performed any acts of conjuration, or of having had any dealings whatsoever with the "black art". Yet every man from his village was seething with rage; some of their children and women had been taken violently sick, and in each instance the sick ones had declared that at the outset of the trouble they had seen the face of the accused. Such was the panic of these men that had they not feared the local head man (who was a friend of the supposed wizard) they would have taken the law into their own hands and beaten the offender to death. It was said that he induced sickness by ejaculating evil upon any object he wished to injure; he could cast a spell or produce a malignant effect upon victims of his displeasure

either by letting his eye rest upon them or by merely wishing them evil. Their only proof of this was that their children or wives had been taken ill after this supposed wizard had passed by their doors, or had been seen by them in the fields or on the hills. No words of the missionary could persuade those men that possibly they were mistaken. 754

This power of spitefully "overlooking" people belongs to women as well as to men. In one village typhoid broke out and took off a large number of victims. This is the blackest of all demons; it works havoc amongst the Miao, who fear it intensely. Hamlets and villages are frequently decimated by it. In one epidemic, out of a family of nine, seven had died of it. The ninth, a young wife, was so afraid that she ran away, no one knowing whither she had gone. An eighth member of the family had got over the typhoid and was being tended by this wife, but after she had absconded no one would enter the house. Thus, being bereft of all nursing and food, the patient eventually died from sheer starvation. In another instance the father, mother and two children all died; no one would enter the house to bury the bodies, so by degrees the village dogs devoured them. Perhaps the saddest case was that of a mother dying and leaving a young babe. As every one was afraid of infection the living babe was buried with the deceased mother. In this village, after several people had died of this dread disease, it began to be whispered that the sickness had been caused by an old widow woman, who 751 758

751 thereupon became suspect of being a witch.
758 Finally feelings ran so high that some of the men, armed with staves, entered the woman's house and literally beat her to death.

754 Men who practise the "black art" sometimes come to a bad end. One wizard, who had been accused several times of "overlooking" people, was rather proud that it should be thought he possessed this power. One day the brother of a man of some influence was taken ill, and within a short while he died, killed, it was believed, by a secret arrow released by this wizard. The elder brother was so infuriated that on the day of the burial he had the wizard brought to the village, beaten with bludgeons until he lost consciousness, carried to a newly dug grave and unceremoniously flung into it. On top of the unconscious but living wizard was lowered the coffin containing his supposed unfortunate victim, and the grave was filled up.

566 Another aspect of Miao life which needs our understanding and sympathy, is the dominance of the landlords, called for the most part "*t'u-muh*". The words "*t'u-muh*" are the Chinese for "earth's eyes" and are probably used to designate the enfeoffed eldest sons of aforetime Nosu chiefs. While some Miao are the tenants of small landowners, either Chinese or Nosu, a majority till the land of *t'u-muh*, who, as a class, are crafty, corrupt, capricious and at times inhumanly cruel. Before the Chinese Republic was founded in 1911, these *t'u-muh* had immense power; and though

755 outside the village, and its contents are strewn
753 on the ground. When the bowl is taken home and the sick person is not yet well, then a Mi-la is called in to drive away the hungry ghost by prayer.

789 (13) Drawing a Cat. Because of the destruction by rats in the house, the Miao-I often stick up a picture of a large cat on the wall to scare away the rats. They claim this device is very effective.

777 (14) The Auspicious Day. The Miao-I in the hsien district do not consult an almanac but consider as lucky any of the even days (2,4,6,8) in the lunar calendar as well as the ch'en and hsü days of the month. To ch'en belongs the dragon and to hsü, the dog, both of which do not have any taboo. So all the affairs of the Miao-I are conducted on either the even days or the dragon and dog days.

754 (15) Poisonous Insects and Medicines. It is said that in the Miao villages in An-shun certain women breed poisonous insects and certain men concoct medicines to harm people. Men and women who acquire these poisons - women by heredity and men through constant practice - are subject to frequent attacks themselves, ailing all over the body. So they have to eject their poisons to hurt others. Sometimes when they cannot harm human beings they can nevertheless damage woods and stones, for if their poisons are not ejected they themselves will be destroyed. This is a deep-rooted belief among the
754 Miao people. Each time an illness is prolonged
787 or becomes aggravated, the family suspects that the sick person has been affected by poisonous insects or medicines. In order to find out whether the sick person has acquired any poison, a test is made by placing at night a boiled egg on the breast of the sick person or beside his pillow. Next morning the egg is shelled and ex-

amined. If the white of the egg shows a concave dent, then it is a proof of the existence of the poison. Thereupon the members of the sick person's family would shout curses outside the gate, so that the dispenser of the venom would come by himself or herself to get rid of it. Also there are cases where sick persons escape to other villages to avoid attack by these poisonous agents. We have closely investigated many areas but have not yet discovered a single instance of some one who actually possesses poisonous insects or medicines. This is after all pure superstition. But the Miao people believe in it strongly and take every precaution against it. A woman who is suspected of possessing poisonous insects may never expect to be married, and a man who is found to own such medicines is subject to lynching and expulsion. The belief of the I tribe in this connection is less deeply rooted than that of the Miao.

(16) Feng-shui. The Chung-chia in An-shun believe in Feng-shui /wind and water/ much more than the local Chinese. In the Chung-chia village there are one or two persons noted for their ability to divine Feng-shui such as in building a house and erecting grave mounds, the fortune of the offspring being dependent upon how these are located in relation to nature, mountain and river, and their shapes and conditions. It is further believed that the unusual rocks and overhanging cliffs as well as the green trees and gigantic vines in the mountains are endowed with the spiritual essence of the universe which serves to suppress the baleful vapors of the valleys and rivers. So even though it is known that a certain mountain yields valuable minerals, people will not mine them for fear of upsetting the stabilizing influence of these precious substances.

Of all the foregoing superstitions the

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

in the use of herbs as medicine, but when to take medicine and when to send for the exorcist is not very clear. We imagine when a man is sick he first takes medicine, and if this fails to act as it ought, he concludes there is a demon troubling him and sends for an exorcist to deal with it. In the case of ague, the Heh Miao always think it is a demon, and the sufferer goes away into the woods to hide himself and thus escape from it. 755

Any man who has learned the incantations and knows how things ought to be done, may be a wizard or exorcist. Their fees are not exorbitant. A quart or two of rice, and a little of anything else that may be going, pork or whisky, is all they get for their services. There are usually two or three of them in every village. The Miao say that their exorcists are the same as the Chinese *tuan-kung* or Taoists, and so it appears to us they are. 791

Sometimes a man is accused of having a demon, and this is a bad thing for the man, if it is generally believed. This does not mean that he is possessed by a devil, but that he has at his command a demon who does his will to the injury of others. We know a man who lately accused a neighbour before the Chinese magistrate for saying that he had a demon. 754

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

754 They believe also in such demon possession as is recorded in the New Testament; so do also the Chinese.

791 They also believe in soothsayers, and often when anything is lost or stolen, or if an unknown person has injured their property, they consult them. After the soothsayer has received his fee, he performs certain ceremonies, and after a longer or shorter time a demon takes possession of him. He at once begins to mutter and answer questions, without moving his lips, something after the manner of a ventriloquist. Very often the answers are correct, but not always. The Miao say it is the demon who speaks, not the man. Sometimes the soothsayer will tell a man to offer oxen in sacrifice to his deceased parents when his luck is bad. These soothsayers do not eat flesh meat. A missionary once asked one of them if he were still practising his art, whereat all the other Miao laughed, and the man replied, "Since I have begun to eat meat the demon will not come to me."

754 The Miao are great believers in witches and witchcraft, but they say that only one here and there can really bewitch people. Even the Chinese are afraid of Miao witches, and fear to eat food offered them by the Miao lest they

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

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should be bewitched or poisoned. Missionaries, who are not infrequently appealed to by Chinese when they fancy themselves bewitched by the Miao, mostly find them to be suffering from malarial. The Miao say that the witch throws things down on the road, sometimes only a straw, and the first person who comes along is bewitched. They may also bewitch a person's food and in this way injure him. Some time ago the whole countryside not far from Anshunfu was troubled by a witch. The Miao from that region came in a body to the district magistrate in Anshunfu city, and petitioned that the witch might be removed from that neighbourhood. The witch was arrested and banished.

775

All the Miao believe in the soul and a future state. The Ya-ch'io Miao say that a man has three souls—one is his shadow, one is his reflection as seen in the water, and the third is his real self. Probably they learned this from the Chinese. As a rule, we think they only know and speak of one soul. They also believe in heaven, but most of them know nothing about a hell. The Hua Miao say there is a place in the earth where demons are, but do not mention it as a place to which the souls of the wicked go. They think that ordinary people, that is most

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

754 An enemy who wishes to injure the descendants of a person who is being buried secretly throws tiny pieces of iron or wood onto the corpse as it lies in the coffin or into the coffin beside the corpse. If these are not removed, the descendants will suffer great injury, so just before the burial a careful search is made and all such things are carefully removed from the coffin.

787 Burials must be on days controlled by snakes or rabbits.

766 Because it is believed that the spirits of children, after death, roll hail in their hands and throw it down, making hailstorms, they tie a red cloth around the hand of a dead child before it is buried so as to prevent the child from doing such things.

787 764 Formerly the Ch'uan Miao did not take note of the *yin yang* 陰陽 and *fêng shui* 風水 when arranging their graves. Now they use these principles, which they have learned from the Chinese. Chinese *fêng shui* geomancers are sometimes called in to determine the place and direction of the grave, for they are considered more efficient than those of the Ch'uan Miao. Formerly the graves were parallel to the mountains but now, like those of the Chinese, they are at right angles.

765 For two or three nights after the burial fire is taken to the grave and on the next three mornings afterward food is taken to the grave for the newly-buried ancestor to eat.

In making the fire, twelve bamboo sticks are stuck into the ground on the road or path and six bunches of grass, called *yin pao* 陰包 are placed between the sticks. The grass is burnt but not the sticks.

On the first morning, three bamboo cups are filled with rice and some meat is wrapped up in a leaf. These are taken to the grave and left there. For the second meal, on the second day, these things are taken half-way to the grave and left on the road uncovered. On the first and second days the dead person is merely invited to eat. On the third day the food is placed on the grave and covered with thorns or twigs of bamboo and the food is left on the grave.

[775] To understand the Ch'uan Miao memorial customs, it must be borne in mind that the Ch'uan Miao family includes not only the living but the souls of the departed ancestors for at least three generations; also that the person in Hades needs the same things that he does in this world. He must have food, clothing, money and other things, and he will find cattle, sheep, pigs and chickens useful. These must be provided by the living descendants and the dead ancestors reciprocate by protecting the living descendants and helping them to prosper. Offerings or sacrifices are simply food, money, clothing, drink, etc. given to the deceased ancestors to eat; drink, wear, and use, with the expectation that the ancestors will help the

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

776 Demons that are human souls are called glaŋ but the demons that are the souls of cows, water-buffalo, sheep, goats, pigs, cats, dogs, chickens and ducks are called ts'ao. These appear in the forms of the creatures whose souls they are. They injure people, often causing babies to die. There is a demon that comes out of caves that is called a bo tsao. It may change into creatures that eat people or cause pains and sickness. Mountain demons are called glaŋ To or glaŋ bi and sometimes cause people to die. What is called in Chinese a *yao ch'i* 妖氣 or a *chia ch'i* 邪氣 is the demon of a snake, a frog, or a toad, etc.

[191] When a person is crazy or speaks in a meaningless or a silly way, it is called glaŋ lo or demon talk. It is thought that the person is possessed by a demon and that the demon is speaking through him.

The gods or idols of the Chinese are regarded as demons and are called glaŋ mjao. The first word means demon but the Ch'uan Miao do not know the meaning of the second word. It seems to me that it must have come from the Chinese word for temple 廟 so that the phrase might mean "demon in the Chinese temple." Here we have a parallel to what happened in ancient times in Persia and in India. The two branches of the Aryan race became enemies and with the two hostile people the gods of one became the demons of the other.

[525] The Ch'uan Miao believe that a person should not kill too many wild animals. If he does, their souls will become demons and will avenge themselves by killing him. There was a family of famous hunters named Hsiung. The father with the dogs was driving the game out of the woods. A son was waiting to shoot the game on a path where they were likely to come. He thought his father was a wild boar and shot him dead. It was thought that the souls of the animals they had killed had caused this to happen.

776 551 In the minds of the Ch'uan Miao, as shown by their legends and confirmed by their own statements, people may change easily into tigers, cows, fish, foxes, snakes, rats, crabs, frogs, banana trees and vines, and from these back into persons. People most commonly turn into tigers. Those whose names are Wang in Chinese and Tang in Ch'uan Miao T'ao in Chinese and glo or black in Ch'uan Miao and to some extent those whose names in Chinese are Chang, frequently change into tigers and back again into human beings, but it is less common for others to do so unless a witch, called in Ch'uan Miao bo ntsong, bewitches them. She changes men into tigers and women into witches like herself; these bewitch others in the same way. She and the women she has bewitched may look like human beings or may be invisible and more or less fromless.

[754]

[28 cont.]
756 appease him a whole cow has to be sacrificed.

5) To rectify an injustice. If A has received injustice in
754 the hands of B and is so oppressed that he has no means of appeal,
627 he may ask a priest to present a petition in the nether world. The priest can invoke a kind of "calamity ghost" to visit B, and if the latter is still ruthless and stubborn, this ghost can bring about death to all the members of his family, including the animals. To enlist the help of the "calamity ghost," it is necessary to give him a big crab, several river worms, a cock, and a male dog. The dog may be killed, but the cock may not be killed -- it can only be cursed to death by the priest. The crab and the river worms are put in a jar to be buried far away, [29] even in the bottom of a river, to prevent others from digging it up. It is said that in two or three days calamity is sure to befall B's family. If the latter knows about this, a priest should immediately be engaged to divine from the magic diagrams. Only when the buried items are unearthed can the calamity be averted.

761 6) To prolong life. A priest can tell whether a person's
782 life will be short-lived and he can apply for an extension for
756 him. In the process the priest has to slaughter a male pig and proceed before Yen-wang to beg for more life for the applicant. When this is granted, another pig is slaughtered to be sacrificed together with wine, glutinous rice and a carp as an expression of gratitude to Yen-wang.

787 7) To tell fortune. When someone does not know how to
756 act in times of crisis, a priest is asked to make a decision. Important matters such as choosing a trade or a profession, and trifles such as selecting materials for a garment, all require the decision of the priest, who will attempt to put the inquirer's mind in place. The average person respects the words of the priest. Sometimes when the priest decides that it will be very unlucky for a certain person to leave the village, that person may spend the rest of his life at home without going outside the village gate.

756 8) To protect children. Many families whose children
751 are susceptible to frequent illness would ask the priest to be their

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428 756 The young shaman chosen by his father does not have to go through any kind of preparatory period or apprenticeship. This is actually unnecessary since his abilities depend on the will of the spirits, and the duties of a shaman have been familiar to him since childhood through his observation of his father's activities.

756 787 [775] It is the task of the shaman to learn the wishes of the ancestors and spirits and to make them known to human beings. The shaman, however, can call on not only the ancestors, but also the souls of dead strangers. Through them he receives information with which he may, for instance, clear up a crime. On the other hand, he cannot induce them to change their dwellings /178/ or influence them in any other way. It is also impossible for the shaman to bewitch human beings or to do other evil deeds by means of his supernatural powers, just as he cannot influence the weather. On the other hand, in addition to other duties which will be discussed below, the shaman has the task of driving away evil spirits that make the houses and fields of human beings unsafe or those by whom human beings are possessed.

Fig. 40 Fabric cross of the Meau. 1/15 nat. size. Worn sewed on the back of the jacket of the shamans.

756 [754] [789]

756 755 789 [822] Exorcism is practiced with very simple means. Since the spirits always have a special liking or dislike for certain colors, the shaman ascertains, after an appropriate ceremony, which color in particular the spirit that possesses a human being rejects. Accordingly he has a cross of black, white, or red cloth sewed on the back of the clothes of the one possessed, since these are the colors that come under consideration. In the long run the spirit is unable to bear the odious color and seeks another abode, whereupon the one possessed is cured.

There is still another method of spirit-exorcism. The one possessed must sit down on the ground, and the shaman conjures [787] his teacher-spirit, the ancestors, and the three pairs of assistant [778] spirits. Then he commands the evil spirit to leave the body of the sick person, over whose head he clashes together the magic

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224 787 825 If the hunter tracks a wounded animal and, while camping at night, hears the cry of the large black squirrel, he assumes that the game has died in the meantime. If a spider spins its web over the place of a hunter's fire, he infers from this that he will soon bag some game.

787 825 It is regarded as a bad omen when a bird alights in a camp /191/ set up in the jungle. If the bird should perch on the tree under which one is resting and if, in addition, he is hit by its droppings, this is regarded as the most unfavorable omen imaginable. Strangely enough, omens are not linked with the conspicuous and common hornbill, whose plaintive call astonishes every stranger, even if he has not yet seen the grotesque appearance of the bird, and which plays an especially important role among head-hunting peoples. Monkeys, lizards, frogs, and fish likewise have little significance among the Meau, and heavenly [821] phenomena, too, are not connected with omens. Similarly there 754 are no practitioners of black magic among the Meau, although 824 the concept is generally known. For instance, it is believed that among the neighboring peoples in the valleys, especially among the Chinese and Lao, such magicians who are able to do harm to human beings are very common.

787 The art of soothsaying is also known to the Meau. The belief is that it is neither inheritable nor can it be taught, but that it simply depends on the will of the spirits which person is endowed with this faculty. And there is no means by which the will of the spirits can be influenced in this respect.

Great importance is ascribed to dreams since it is assumed -- as has been said -- that in sleep the soul goes wandering and therefore dreams are nothing but the experiences of the soul while a person is asleep. The interpretation of dreams is also the [756] business of the shaman, but, as in the case of omens, there are some dreams, too, that every Meau interprets in the same way.

[763] [171] In general it is assumed that one's parents will die if he dreams that he is losing his teeth. In this connection it is interesting to note that the idea of a sinister meaning of a dream in which teeth play a role is also found among the Lao and Chinese, as well as in Europe.

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683 754 Since the Meau do not believe that black magic is practiced among their tribesmen, there is no punishment for it. Outlawing is likewise unknown.

692 622 634 [689] Offenses against custom are judged by the village chief or the great chief. Crimes, which very rarely occur among the Meau, are judged by the great chief. In such cases the village elders and the village chief appear as examining magistrates. Dhuraratsadorn (1), too, points out that homicide and

674 114

1. Page 171.

crimes of violence are for the most part unknown within the family community, which he designates erroneously as "clan." He assumes that robbery might occur if it becomes known that a member of the community has received a large sum of money through the sale of opium or the like. The author then continues by saying that this offense had never occurred in the district of San Mahapon with which he is familiar, but characteristically he explains this not on the basis of the morality of the Meau, but by their custom of not carrying any money with them, much less keeping it in their houses, but of carefully hiding it somewhere. I was unable to confirm the custom of "money-hiding" among the Meau, but I did find it among the Lahu; hence I assume that there is some confusion on the part of the author.

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682 The punishment for murder in connection with robbery or homicide is execution. It is reported of some Meau tribes in China (2) that buffalo were paid as a fine for homicide. Only

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2. Eberhard, II, p. 252.

685 439 the great chief, however, can give the sentence. The same punishment befalls anyone who commits simple robbery or theft from traveling merchants. The harsh appraisal of this offense goes back to the fact that the traveling merchants, all of them Chinese, bring wares that are important to the Meau, but those areas in which there is danger of robbery and theft would be avoided.